

BREVIS BREVIANS IN PLAUTUS AND A NEW KIND OF IAMBIC OCTONARIUS

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

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August 2012

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of prevailing theories of "iambic shortening" or *brevis brevians* (BB), especially as this phenomenon relates to iambic and trochaic octonarius (ia⁸ and tr⁸) in Plautus, two of the least discussed meters in archaic Latin. In Part One, I treat the question of the reality or unreality of the phenomenon of BB, a precondition of any further investigation, and assert a spectrum of reality along which instances of BB may be placed, dependent upon various prosodic or linguistic conditioning factors. In Part Two, noting that discussions of BB in Plautus have failed to account for ia⁸ and tr⁸, I examine the iambo-trochaic system in accordance with Gratwick's schema, the most recent and informative account of the system. Along the way, I show that ia⁸, which has generally been recognized as being unitary, consists in fact of two distinct subtypes, each sufficiently distinct from the other in terms of metrical restrictiveness (a quantifiable reflection of one meter's independence from another, among other things) to constitute a separate meter within the archaic Latin iambo-trochaic system. I call these subtypes ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II. Since previous scholars have treated these two subtypes as mere variations of a single type, I examine Plautus' distribution and dramatic use of each type in *Amphitruo*, the most dense with ia⁸ of all Plautus' plays, showing that alternations between ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II are not made freely, but appear to be deliberate, meaningful, and full of poetic and dramatic potential. I conclude by pointing out the productive potential of prosodic phenomena such as hiatus and the *locus Jacobsohnianus* when considered in tandem with ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II, and suggest a chronology for the development of ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II as separate meters within a single metrical system. Though speculative, the unusual nature of these meters within Latin meter as a whole is such that I hope a bit of informed speculation may be a useful impetus to further study.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Matthew Swoveland was born and grew up in southern Colorado, and graduated from the University of Colorado at Boulder in 2007, with majors in Classics, Philosophy, and Religious Studies. At Cornell University, he concentrated in Classics and Linguistics, with additional research in Greek dialects at the Center for Hellenic Studies, and in Sanskrit poetics at Cornell and Harvard. In May of 2012, he received his Master of Arts from Cornell University in the field of Classics.

For My Wife and Partner,
Nicole Castillo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to give my heartfelt thanks to my committee in the field of Classics: Hayden Pelliccia, Michael Weiss, and Charles Brittain. From my earliest days at Cornell, they have - jointly and severally - supported, challenged, and steered my academic development through challenges of all kinds. When I had thought a question answered or a topic exhausted, they were present with further questions, suggestions, and new avenues toward solutions. I wish to express my special thanks to Hayden, for taking me seriously when I wished to study Pindar and never letting me forget what a task this would be; and to Michael, for allowing me to be a linguist, as the hours we spent reading Latin stretched into readings on Plautine meter, and then into the chimera of a project that captured my interest in these last years. My gratitude also to Larry McCrea, who spent countless office and class hours with me, delving into the intricacies of *mīmāṃsā* and Sanskrit poetics. What I have learned with him has affected my intellectual world far beyond the texts we read together.

My greatest thanks are due, of course, to Nicole, my indefatigable wife and my best friend. She is the reason I push myself toward all that I do, and that she supports and renews me all the while is the truest testament to her belief in me. To my family - my mother, Carolyn, and my mother- and father-in-law, Yolanda and Tom Castillo - who have shown excitement at each wild turn in my life: thank you for your enthusiasm and love, and for your humor all the while. Yes, I am finishing at last.

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Introduction - The Problem with BB: What It Is

Stated most plainly, iambic shortening or *brevis brevians* (hereafter BB) is the process (or "cover term for processes"¹) by which a sequence $\cup -$ fits into a metrical place normally occupied only by a sequence $\cup \cup$. On the traditional interpretation, this sequence is co-extensive with the word itself. That is, real BB only occurs in iambic words whose second syllable is open and therefore long by nature. By other theories, BB can include iambic words whose second syllable is long by position, as well as iambic sequences within word groups and cretic shortening. In the most general temporal terms, however, it can be agreed that what normally occupies three morae ($\mu \mu \mu$) occupies only two ($\mu \mu$) when BB is operative.² Two issues then arise. First, it is unclear how such a sequence would actually be articulated. This is especially problematic in words where the long is long by position and not by nature. Adiego Lajara 1999 gives an overview of the problem of articulation with the example of *uolūptates*.³

$\cup - > \underline{\cup -} \Rightarrow$	<i>uōlūptātēs</i>	/wo.lu(p).taa.tees/	>	$\cup \cup - -$
		(a) /wo.lu(p).taa.tees/		- - -
		(b) /wo(l)up.taa.tees/		- - -
		(c) /wol(u)p.taa.tees/		- - -
		(d) /w(o)lup.taa.tees/		- - -

Some of these possibilities - (d), for example - are clearly not options in Latin; no Latin word begins with the cluster $\mu l-$, so it is unlikely that there would be any motivation for the syncope of the vowel in this syllable. It is also true that ancient commentators do

¹ Fortson 2008:176.

² Whether this is an actually articulated shortening or not is a subject of disagreement. See especially Fortson 2008 and Adiego Lajara 1999, on whose account I focus most.

³ Adiego Lajara 1999:59.

not give any evidence for pronunciation of segments of this kind, certainly nothing comparable to Cicero's famous *cauneas* remark, which covers the main example of the so-called *cauě*-type, which everyone accepts as real BB.⁴ We know that the sequence *uōlūptās mea* was a standard phrase in Plautus, meaning "my darling" or something comparable, and that it had at least some life after Plautus.⁵ It appears that some kind of syncope, synizesis, or combination of processes allowed the *uolupt*-sequence to be pronounced in the space of two morae. Synizesis is often invoked to explain the pronunciation of other sequences, such as *ēiūs dicto*, which was presumably pronounced with synizesis across the *yod*, something like *e(i)us*. In this example, the articulation is best understood as a single, bi-moraic long that is also long by position before the sequence *-sd*, therefore escaping any problems of articulating a short where it should be long by position.

In the case of the lexicalized *beně*, on the other hand, where the word is etymologically iambic and the final syllable therefore long by nature, there are not as many ways to articulate the final syllable. The duration of the final *e* is simply one mora

⁴ Cicero *De Divinatione* 2.84 [40]: *cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisi imponeret, quidam in portu caricas Cauno advectas vendens 'Cauneas' clamitabat. dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, 'caveret ne iret'; non fuisse periturum, si omni paruisset. quae si suscipiamus, pedis offensio nobis et abruptio corrigiae et sternumenta erunt observanda.*

⁵ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 19.8.6.8, who cites *mea uoluptas* as *mea delicia*, with Plautus specifically in mind. The sequence *uolūptas mea* appears also in Petronius' *Satyricon* 139.4.4, when Chrysis lavishes Encolpius with these poetic words: *teneo te, qualem speraueram: tu desiderium meum, tu uoluptas mea, nunquam finies hunc ignem, nisi sanguine exstinxeris*. Plautus is a likely reference here, too, as a source for this dramatic (and comic) language of love. In fact, the phrase *tu desiderium meum, tu uoluptas mea* has the form of two colon-final phrases, respectively *B C D aa B c d+* and *D aa B c d+*, the same shape and position of this phrase in nearly all other occurrences in Plautus. The phrase also appears in the salutation of one of Fronto's letters to his teacher (2.13.15) in a different sense (with the phrase *suauitas et caritas et uoluptas mea*, he signs off, clearly not meaning 'my darling'); nonetheless, he was a grammarian and undoubtedly familiar with this Plautine phrase, perhaps in an instance of humor between friends or intellectual banter. The sequence as an accentual unit is discussed at length in Fortson 2008 passim.

instead of two, and since there are no external factors operating on it (as is the case with vowels long by position), there is no difficulty in describing (or performing) the articulation. As already mentioned, such sequences are nearly universally agreed to be real (as opposed to "metrical") iambic shortenings, conditioned by and articulated within a speech environment.

A second problem arises when we consider conditioning factors. I will take some time to explain what I mean, since this will form the basis of my examination of the evidence for BB. In his 1967 handbook, Questa says that we can establish with sufficient clarity what the *necessary* conditions are for shortening; nonetheless, we cannot say for sure *why* shortening occurs in some cases and not in others, and BB thus remains a possibility and not anything like a metrical law.⁶ In other words, although we can establish the *necessary* conditions for BB, we do not know what conditions are *sufficient* to motivate it. I would add that there is a further difficulty in distinguishing sufficient conditions from what I call "modal factors", namely factors that would determine *how* a shortening takes place even if not guaranteeing that it does. I will return to this point.

⁶ Questa 1967:67 - "nella prosodia arcaica noi siamo riusciti a stabilire con sufficiente precisione le condizioni *necessarie e indispensabili* per l'abbreviamento della sillaba lunga, ma non sappiamo ancora dire perchè - dandosi le medesime condizioni - a volte il fenomeno si produca e a volte no: la CI appare ai nostri occhi *una possibilità*, come detto a p. 31, *non una norma vincolante*." (emphasis mine)

Questa's description is right in separating BB from what can seem like a description of a metrical law.⁷ Boldrini makes basically the same distinction.⁸ Nevertheless, is it heuristically useful to characterize an "optional" process by conditions and then speak of the impossibility or difficulty of the lines that don't conform to those conditions? And can we discover what motivates (rather than conditions necessarily) BB? I suggest that we can, provided we distinguish clearly between (a) necessary conditioning factors, (b) "modal" conditioning factors, and (c) factors that motivate BB. Though we may not arrive at a set of sufficient conditions for BB, this is not itself a problem, since we do not have the ability to test whether a candidate for a sufficient condition would actually guarantee that BB would occur. What we can do, rather than developing only a set of necessary conditions and then trying to determine which - if any - of the various shortenings that appear in archaic Latin drama (cretic shortening, iambic shortening, possible cases of synizesis, etc.) are within the same category of BB, is outline all of the explanatory factors or problems that *any* theory of BB will have to deal with, and then attempt to develop a theory that is as inclusive as possible without losing its explanatory power. This will also help us to avoid the circularity that can arise when beginning from an iambic-only definition of BB that excludes cretic shortening and the like, and then using these latter cases to show that real BB is properly restricted only to iambic words whose final syllable is long by nature.

⁷ Take, for example, Questa's conditions at 31ff. He gives two conditions, the first based on the accent of the brevians and the second on the placement of the sequence in the line. He follows his description of the logical consequences of these conditions with a section on shortenings that are impossible or hard to explain. In so doing, he mimics the layout of his *norme generali* given later: lay out principles or conditions, then discuss complying examples and exceptions.

⁸ Boldrini 1992:54. "La compresenza di queste condizioni non comporta necessariamente il verificarsi della correptio iambica, la quale resta sempre e soltanto una possibilità."

In short, the multitude of theories about BB and what conditions it is an indication of the variety of phenomena that can be included under the cover term "iambic shortening". A successful theory of BB must either (1) account for all of them, or (2) show why it does not have to, i.e. show why some cases cannot be of the same category of shortening. The burden of proof should be to show what is *not* included under BB rather than to show what is. This can be stated another way: rather than ask whether the cases usually considered "linguistic" BB can be folded in with "real" BB, we should ask whether and what compelling reasons exist to exclude such cases. A successful theory of BB should explain as many forms of shortening as possible provided that it retains its explanatory power and does not resort to arbitrariness. The point where the theory says "this is an exception and we don't know why" is where it also ought to be able to say "this instance is not BB, and this is why". Aberrant cases following this should ideally be only those that have textual problems.

In Part One of this paper, I will examine the factors that a successful theory of BB must account for, and I will evaluate the best attempts of existing theories to do so. It is important to note, however, that all theories of BB in Plautus have been based largely or solely on iambic senarius and iambic and trochaic septenarius (ia⁶, ia⁷ and tr⁷), the meters of spoken dialogue (*diverbium* or *Sprechvers*, ia⁶) and a variety of recitative meter (ia⁷ and tr⁷). In Part Two of the paper, I ask whether we are missing anything by not considering the two next-most prevalent meters in Plautus, the recitative iambic and trochaic octonarius. In order to answer this, I establish the nature of these two meters independently from the rest of the iambo-trochaic system, and I describe two different types of iambic octonarius that have not been clearly recognized before. In order to establish these types as clearly as possible, I utilize a mathematical measure of metrical

restrictiveness, useful for quantifying (among other things) metrical difference among meters, as well as a detailed analysis of these meters in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, the play that displays the poet's iambic octonarius at their best. Once this is done, I bring my discussion of BB to this meter, and I analyze the cases where it may impact our understanding of shortening.

PART ONE

The Reality of Iambic Shortening or Brevis Brevians (BB)

Before I begin this discussion in earnest, I wish to go a bit deeper into the problem I just laid out: to speak of "conditioning factors" as I have is to presuppose that there is something to condition, i.e. that there is a real linguistic phenomenon taking place, something that can be motivated and articulated. As I have mentioned but not fully explained, this is not a fact that can be taken as given. One of the longest-running debates in the discussion of Plautine meter concerns the very reality of iambic shortening or BB.⁹ There are three options: BB is wholly metrical (i.e., exists *metri gratia*), wholly real (i.e., linguistic), or some mixture of the two. Few modern scholars would maintain that BB is an entirely metrical phenomenon.¹⁰ Instead, approaches range from the traditional account that I mentioned above, where BB is separated into "real" shortening and shortening *metri gratia*, to arguments for the syntactic conditioning of all BB on the assumption of linguistic reality in all cases. Within clusters of explanations along this spectrum, scholars differ further in defining what factors motivate or condition BB, and in what restrictions should be placed on it. Further still, there is uncertainty about how the resulting metrical position (two morae after shortening instead of the original three) is pronounced in certain words, such as those of VCV shape or especially VCVCC; this latter shape poses such problems that it has caused scholars to consider a short vowel before the consonant cluster linguistically impossible, and thus to return it to the "metrical" category of BB. Along with this come

⁹ Questa 1967:67 calls iambic shortening "senz'altro il fenomeno più difficile della prosodia latina arcaica."

¹⁰ A notable exception to this is Beare 1957. His account is easily dismissed, and I will not spend time with it here.

disagreements about whether apparent synizesis in iambic words or cretic shortening should be included among examples of BB, and whether and how this would change the theories.

Of course, if we do not come down with some certainty on the "reality" question, it makes little sense to try to understand what factors conditioned BB, since conditioning by linguistic factors presupposes a basis of linguistic reality (a simple explanation *metri gratia* does not require phonological or other conditioning factors to motivate).¹¹

Therefore, theories that separate BB into "real" and "metrical" have to find conditioning factors only for the "real" cases of shortening, something quite straightforward when we recall that "real" BB includes the category of words that have been lexicalized as short illocutionary particles like *beně* and *cauě*.

Furthermore, a simply descriptive approach, i.e. collating examples of BB and identifying rules or tendencies among them, presupposes a theory of what constitutes BB in the most basic way insofar as it determines what data is collected - are cretics included? quadrisyllables? what accent constraints are imposed? But it also requires an organizing principle of some kind, and these can be many. Drexler, for example, organizes his lists by verbs, particles, adjectives, nouns, and so on, while Brenot organizes them by meter, and by line and foot position.¹² Real problems can result from this, and I think that it is therefore of lesser theoretical utility to proceed inductively at first than to take a top-down approach, developing parameters for what will be a sufficiently explanatory (and therefore successful) theory; this theory would then need to

¹¹ Fortson 2008:178.

¹² Drexler 1969. Brenot 1923. Brenot also lists numerous instances that should probably be considered examples of synizesis, not discriminating between them and what most scholars consider BB. More on this in Part Two.

be checked with the data and modified. Unfortunately, the debate about BB is plagued by circularity, and it is easy to see why. It seems that one must pick an assumption with which to begin, and this is where I begin my discussion.

I start at the far side of the spectrum, where the only linguistically real kind of BB is the so-called *cauě*-type. Bettini 1990 is the primary advocate of this view in recent years, which Adiego Lajara 1999 picks up and extends. This account divides BB in two ways: first, between vowels long by nature and those long by position; second, between words of different shapes.¹³

	Long by nature	Long by position	Long by nature <i>and</i> position
Iambic word	<i>cauě</i>	pōtěst	bōuěs
Cretic word	<i>occīdī</i>	expētūnt	luppītēr
Preaccentual iambic sequences in polysyllables	<i>pūdīcitiam</i> (very few)	vōlūptates	Ø
Word groups	<i>tīb(i) ēveniat</i> (very doubtful)	ūt īncedit	Ø

The *cauě*-type is separated out from the others as the only linguistically real type of BB, a point in common for all scholars who advocate the traditional account; the other word-types are explained as "metrical" BB, and are said to be shortened *metri gratia*.¹⁴ In fact, the decisive factors differentiating real from metrical BB can be two: (1) the difficulty of actually articulating the long in a word like *potest* as short (*potěst*); (2) the

¹³ This is an old and productive way of division. See Esch 1897. This table is summarized from Adiego Lajara 1999:57-8.

¹⁴ Adiego Lajara 1999:58. "Una verdadera y propria correptio" being a linguistic phenomenon that accommodates the transition of a sequence ∪ – to a sequence ∪ ∪ or even – (a case that would cover, it seems to be, apparent shortenings that fall under synizesis).

(un)availability of a phonetic explanation or motivation for the shortening. If we can find a phonetic motivation, then we can say the shortening is linguistically real, provided that we can show that it was actually pronounced as short.

How do we show this? Or, if we cannot show it, how do we show that it could *not* have been the case? This is where Adiego Lajara adduces Hanson and Kiparsky's parametric theory of meter, developed for Finnish and English, but applied here to Latin.¹⁵ He asserts that Latin, like Finnish and English, is based on a moraic-accentual trochee, a segment of the shape $\cup \cup$ when disyllabic, or $-$ when monosyllabic (two morae in either case). In such a language, the head of the foot is the syllabic nucleus, and bears the accent if disyllabic. It is thus an "accentual trochee".¹⁶ In an iambic word, then, we can have a situation that appears as follows:

căuē (ká.we e, moraicallý $\acute{\mu} \mu \mu$) = $\acute{\sigma} \sigma = \phi$

but is reanalyzed as:

căuē (ká.we.e, moraicallý $\acute{\mu} \mu \mu$) = $\acute{\sigma} \sigma = \phi$

and shortened, by apocope of the final mora (now perceived as belonging to another syllable) to:

căuě (ká.we, moraicallý $\acute{\mu} \mu$) = $\acute{\sigma} \sigma = \phi$ ¹⁷

¹⁵ Hanson and Kiparsky 1996.

¹⁶ Adiego Lajara 1999: 63. This differs from the usually posited trochaic foot as the basis for Latin prosody, as such a foot is trimoraic. This is why Adiego Lajara emphasizes that his is an *accentual* trochee.

¹⁷ This is my horizontal representation of the prosodic hierarchy at Adiego Lajara 1999:63-4. σ = syllable, ϕ = prosodic foot. I indicate where the accent would be.

This an underlying metrical structure in Latin that makes words of shapes such as *cauē* naturally tend toward scanning as *cauě*. While innovative for its use of generative phonology, by identifying the "moraic trochee" as a single stress unit, this account becomes a species of the *Drucksilbe* theory, where a single accentual stress matrix is mapped onto the iambic sequences in question.¹⁸ But such a theory really bears on the question of iambic shortening only if the following point is accepted, namely that there is a conflict between accent and quantity.¹⁹ But this is not the case. For there are numerous items where the sequence *˘ –* is maintained without problem, regardless of whether the second syllable was long by position or by nature. One of the most striking points against the assumption of the unnaturalness of this sequence in any case is, as Devine and Stephens point out, that "there is an inverse correlation between degree of stress and liability to BB."²⁰ Put another way, "the heavier the syllable, the less likely it is to be shortened."²¹ This observation, carried to its logical end, shows us that the instances of "real" BB - words like *cauě*, *beně*, *malě*, etc. - were generally unstressed words, semantically weakened illocutionary particles.²² Therefore, advocates of the unnaturalness of *˘ –* are faced with a kind of circularity: words with "real" BB like *cauě* can be explained more easily because the articulation of a

¹⁸ See esp. Allen 1973 (also Sommer 1914). For a detailed critique of why this merely relocates the problem, see Fortson 2008:183 ff.

¹⁹ This assumption, that "stress and quantitative pattern are in greatest conflict in *˘ –* sequences", is one of the most critical mistakes in the numerous attempts to understand BB. Devine and Stephens 1980:149 state it even after they have noted on the previous page that "there is an inverse correlation between degree of stress and liability to BB." Fortson 2008 makes much of this (185 et passim).

²⁰ Devine & Stephens 1980:148. Noted also in Lindsay 1893 and Drexler 1969, and in Fortson 2008:185.

²¹ Fortson 2008:177. He stresses the consequences of this at 183 ff.

²² Devine & Stephens 1980 loc. cit., Fortson 2008:185.

monomoraic second syllable is not a problem, while words like *potěst* cannot be so easily explained; but to motivate such "real" BB, one must assert an unnaturalness or clash that would be most prominent in cases like *potěst* and not in cases like *cauě* or *beně*.

These points (which I think are major) aside, there are other reasons why the traditional account separates words of the *cauě*-type as "real". To return to the layout above, the iambic word (the first row) is thought to constitute the main group of BB in the meters of archaic Latin drama. Of this group, the *cauě*-type, as an iambic word in which the *brevianda* is long by nature, should be further separated, the reasons being as follows. First, of the types of shortening that occur in iambic words, the *cauě*-type extends beyond archaic Latin drama and into later Latin. Second, such words, etymologically iambic, are lexicalized as pyrrhic. These facts, the first really just a consequence of the second, are said to be sufficient to convince us that we are faced with a real, linguistic shortening. I think few would disagree with the fact of the *cauě*-type's reality, although how we arrive at this conclusion could (and I think should) be stronger.

The proper domain of the real/metrical argument, Adiego Lajara argues, concerns words whose *breviandae* are long by position, not by nature. This means the second column in the table above. This is the category most affected by BB in archaic Latin drama, and the category for whose members external support (as lexicalized items) is lacking outside this corpus. He points to the lack of any authority attesting a pronunciation for these shortened sequences as supporting their permissibility only here, saying that we would expect more mention from classical sources if there was some linguistically real way of articulating the syllables. Although working out the

pronunciation of these sequences is impossible to do with any real certainty, the lack of clear evidence for how this was done should not in itself be a factor for determining whether what happened was linguistically real. Such a move involves multiple assumptions, the most surprising of which is that for an optional articulation to have been linguistically real requires that it was just as widespread as a similar pronunciation that became lexicalized. But this is a very high standard of proof to hold for words that are necessarily less prone to lexicalization than the "real" forms, being essentially illocutionary particles or common function words. In other words, the standard of linguistic reality developed here is based on the pervasiveness of etymologically iambic forms lexicalized as pyrrhics, but the traditional theory provides no further justification for why this should be so.

So what constitutes a metrical shortening on the traditional account? Basically, "metrical" BB covers everything that is not a disyllabic (and therefore iambic, and therefore usually a semantically weakened illocutionary particle) word. This means it must include (a) iambic words long by position or by nature *and* position; (b) trisyllabic (hence cretic) words whose final syllable is long by position, nature, or both; (c) polysyllables whose iambic sequences are pretonic, such as *uoluptates*²³; (d) word groups where the *brevianda* is long by nature, position, or both. If the iambic sequences mentioned here are shortened only in the meter of a certain genre and have no real linguistic basis, then we should expect this shortening to have something to do with the meter, and the question becomes what the metrical motivation for such a thing - covering so many categories - is. And if Adiego Lajara's accent-based approach is untenable for the reasons described above (as well as for the faults of the *Drucksilbe*

²³ Versus polysyllables supposed to have initial accent, like *facilius* or *fenestra*. See Weiss 2009:111-12 for more on this type, as well as Esch 1897:77, 90.

type of theory), only one kind of metrical question really remains: are these words unmetrical?²⁴

In the case of iambic words such as *potest*, the answer is that they are clearly not unmetrical, and pyrrhic forms are no more convenient than iambic forms in iambo-trochaic meters; the same can be said of cretic words. Iambs are a building block of Plautine *diverbia*, and the cretic sequence B c D is the cadence of ia⁶, ia⁸, and the tr⁷, three of the four commonest meters in Plautus. Nor are unshortened pretonic iambs in polysyllables unmetrical: the sequence c D A B is attested at *uenustatum* (*Stich.* 278), for example, and this is not the only possibility.²⁵ Finally, word groups of the shape ∪ – ∪ ∪ – (as an unshortened *tib(i) ēueniāt* would be) are possible in the same shape as *uenustatum* above but with a resolved A position, as c D a a B. In no case are these sequences prohibited or even constrained by the meter.

Do we then call it "metrical" shortening only because it isn't clear how these syllables would be pronounced? They were, of course, pronounced somehow, in a way that made their location in a place normally reserved for a short acceptable to the poet and the audience. Some solutions have been suggested as to the articulation of these syllables, but a thorough study of them will have to be left to another time.²⁶ It is enough here to say that difficulty or unusualness of articulation (assuming that the difficulty of

²⁴ In the dactylic hexameter of Homer, many special "Homeric" forms of words are developed in order to create declensional formulae (segments in a particular case, number, or gender) that allow an unfootable word to be adapted to the verse. Dactylic hexameter is, of course, a much more restrictive meter than the relatively free iambo-trochaic meters of Plautus.

²⁵ Other scansions are possible, including (b) b C D A, and a B C D. The latter would violate Meyer's Law in most cases, but not all.

²⁶ Devine and Stephens 1980:155 give some suggestions. In the case of the medial cluster *-st-*, which accounts for many cases of "metrical" BB, there is evidence that this cluster may have been tautosyllabic. As they point out, this cluster did not impede syncope of the preceding vowel, cf. *ministerium* beside *misterium*. They also cite evidence that *-st-* may have been heterosyllabic outside of vulgar Latin.

our understanding the articulation of these syllables is not the real culprit) does not constitute a sufficient basis for asserting the unreality of these shortenings, especially when there exist significant pieces of evidence to the contrary and when the meter exerts no particular demands on the unshortened sequences.

Much more can be said here, but what I wish to emphasize is that even in the best attempts to explain the distinction between "real" and "metrical" BB, the most important underlying assumptions cannot be supported. One further point that I will note is that Adiego-Lajara's grounding of "metrical" BB in a theory of meter whose basis is the structure of Latin itself has the effect of stretching Bettini's strict real/metrical distinction. What I mean by this is that, by basing "metrical" BB in a fact about Latin that precedes the iambo-trochaic (and anapestic) verses in which "metrical" BB exists, he essentially grants a kind of reality to the phenomenon that goes, I think, beyond what Bettini and other scholars have traditionally held. In trying to explain metrical BB, he has in fact blurred the lines between it and the *cauē*-type and granted to "metrical" BB a kind of provisional reality.

Conditions for a Theory of "Real" BB

At the other end of what I would call a kind of spectrum of reality of BB are those approaches that advocate (more or less) full reality of BB. Such approaches, then, seek phonological motivation for the phenomenon, having no recourse to linguistic characterization. In chapter seven of Fortson 2008, the author gives a brief but thorough treatment of previous phonological theories of BB, including the *Drucksilbe* theory already mentioned.²⁷ Not wanting to summarize the contents here, I will say only that I am persuaded that theories of BB - even phonological ones that eschew a real/metrical distinction - which make use of an accent *as a necessary condition for BB* are bound to go awry, if for no other reason than the widespread shortening of unstressed words.

I mentioned at the beginning that we will likely have to begin with some kind of assumption. The traditional account begins with an assumption of the unnaturalness of $\acute{\text{---}}$, as do some phonological accounts. The traditional account also assumes an inherent connection between lexicalizability and reality, and that there is a metrical scansion available for sequences that are not in fact unmetrical. Given the problems I have shown exist with these assumptions, I think the most rational route is to presume a kind of reality such that we can begin asking questions of what can condition or motivate it, since to speak of conditioning is to presume such a reality.

If we cannot rely on the placement of the accent in a sequence $\acute{\text{---}}$, what kind of role does this datum play in a successful theory of BB? Recall that I described three kinds of conditioning factors - necessary and modal conditions, and motivating factors. Devine and Stephens have shown, as I already mentioned, that this stress pattern is not

²⁷ Fortson 2008:182-87.

a necessary condition for BB to occur. I agree with Fortson when he says that, although "the original stress-placement is clearly going to constrain the reorganization in certain ways, it is hard to see how it could be the *source* of the reorganization." Consequently, I think that the accent, whether on the *brevians* or on the syllable after the *brevianda*, will affect the outcome of the shortening and perhaps how the word is accented when paired with other words, like clitics.²⁸ It can thus be described as a modal condition.

The real question, then, becomes what sort of linguistic conditioning (necessary and modal, if not sufficient) is present for BB along with verse ictus or word accent (since these may condition the *how*, but not the *fact* of shortening), not which of these two is responsible. Fortson approaches this from the standpoint of prosodic-domain construction, a logical start based on the observation of Drexler et al. that BB does not occur at sentence- or clause-end.²⁹ BB thus has prosodic and syntactic factors that motivate it, and it is (I infer) real insofar as these prosodic domains are real and not themselves *metri gratia* (which should be a truism); necessary conditions for BB remain the same as explained in Questa, Boldrini, et al. with the critical exception of the emphasis placed on the accent. This is, if I understand correctly, an indication of the confusion present in discussions of "real" shortening. As we already saw, Bettini and Adiego Lajara say that "real" shortening occurs only with vowels long by nature (that is, vowel-final or open syllables). They are essentially focusing on single word prosodic domains, such as *cauē*. These are also the kinds of things likely to be mentioned in the literature, such as in Cicero's *cauneas* cited earlier. Other more complicated or extended prosodic domains are not as likely to be repeated to such a degree and

²⁸ Fortson 2008:186-7.

²⁹ Fortson 2008:187, citing Devine and Stephens as well as Drexler et al.

therefore not as likely to be lexicalized as these single word examples; they also do not present anywhere near the utility of such words as *beně*, *malě*, or *sciō*. I would even make a stronger claim, that single word prosodic domain-ness is a precondition for lexicalization, or nearly so.

Thus, the importance Adiego Lajara places on the absence of the non-*cauě*-type of BB in the ancient literature loses its power as a basis for any inference about the reality of these forms. But this does not mean that they are not real; for when the relevant words and prosodic domain extension coincide under favorable metrical conditions, a "real" linguistic shortening can occur.³⁰ It may be correct to draw a distinction of some kind between *cauě*-type shortening and the rest, but the basis of differentiation must not be that of linguistic reality. Instead, it should be a descriptor based on the ease or frequency with which a word or phrase's shortenability coincides with prosodic conditioning factors.³¹ These may be, in the case of *cauě* or *beně*, nothing additional to the word itself. Or they may be, in the case of *uōlūptās mea*, the coincidence of a clitic possessive pronoun that draws the accent back and a conceptual unity of the two words that produces a "prosodically real" word, whose stress behaves as it should for such a word³² and whose *brevianda* meets certain conditions such as

³⁰ As will become clear in Part Two, iambo-trochaic meters allows significantly more flexibility than the dominant meters of later Latin poetry. "Favorable metrical conditions" are therefore likely to occur in iambo-trochaic.

³¹ How is this different from what Fortson does? I recognize a stronger division along the lines of Bettini and Adiego Lajara between the *cauě*-type and the other types; but I also point out an additional problem in the latter's reasoning, viz. the extendibility of the *cauě*-type's "reality". The subsequent analysis, probably nearly identical to Fortson's, will hold for the same reasons.

³² Fortson 2008: passim and finally at 261. "I consider a phonological word to be a unitary accent domain that was stressed according to the Latin penultimate stress rule." In my description above, I lump "phonological word" together with "clitic group" strictly speaking only because both represent to me similar factors driving BB. Fortson's definitions are not the only ones possible, so I don't want to be limited by them at the outset of what is properly an outline and a discussion of the structure of a theory and not a particular theory itself.

being preceded by a short vowel and not bearing the word accent, conditions that apply from the traditional account of BB. These conditions have varying likelihoods of combination, from *cauě* and *beně*, *malě*, etc. being extremely likely to occur alone (which is, for them, all of the required conditioning)³³ to *uolŭptas mea*, which is much less likely to occur in this form but still common enough (like *malām crucem*, they are "lexicalized idiomatic compounds" forming phonological words)³⁴ to seem like an exception, to one-off phrases with full-content lexemes.³⁵ The fact of this being quite common in Roman comedy, adduced as evidence for BB's linguistic unreality but also taken (insofar as BB is common in iambo-trochaic, and the meter is taken to reflect more common speech) to support the reality of BB in natural speech, is probably due partly to the conventions of Roman comedy and partly to the flexibility of the meter as indicated by its relatively low metrical restrictiveness. This would simply show that the meter affords significant latitude in fitting prosodic words that are shortenable by BB into the metrical structure. This flexibility of iambo-trochaic meter applies, with interesting variances, across the component meters, as I discuss in Part Two. Thus, we should expect to find similar BB patterns across the iambo-trochaic component meters, perhaps with some variation.

³³ By "alone", I do not mean completely alone (such a thing could not exist at line- or colon-end). I mean not requiring a word of a particular shape to follow it in the same way as other cases of BB do.

³⁴ Fortson 2008:262 et passim.

³⁵ The examples in chapter eight of Fortson 2008 may fall under this heading, since most require a particular line and sense structure to motivate the shortening.

Conclusions

I suggest that the structure of an ideal theory for answering the question of what BB is should not be limited at the outset by the assumptions of the traditional account of real versus metrical BB, assumptions that have been shown to be ill-founded or incorrect. A successful theory of BB will therefore assume the reality of phenomena unless cases arise in which the unmetrical nature of a word can be shown to be the likeliest reason behind its shortening. Presuming reality, a successful theory will ask what factors could condition these shortenings, differentiating between necessary factors and other (I suggested modal conditions and motivations, but this is not exhaustive). It would also require an account of what does *not* fall under the heading of BB in doubtful cases rather than exclude *prima facie* iambic words that are not lexicalized as pyrrhics.

We are left with a range of "shortenability" that would be tied on the one hand to the word's particular structure (open versus closed *brevianda*, number of syllables and placement of *brevianda*) and on the other hand to the kinds of words with which the word subject to shortening goes together prosodically (that is, to certain social, conventional or more broadly linguistic factors) as well as to placement of stress.³⁶ With all of this together, the spectrum is not one of linguistic reality or unreality, but of three or four factors that come into play at different points as one moves along the spectrum of

³⁶ That said, this "range" is not a smooth gradation; rather, there is (I think) a significant "bump" at the point where we shift from the *cauē*-type to word groups and then to full-content lexeme types of shortening. It is this "bump", in addition to the fallacious association of a causal aspect to a coincidental accent, that has caused the traditional approach to draw such a strong line between "real" and "metrical" instances of BB. Nonetheless, the difference between the occurrences in syllables long "by nature" and those long "by position" deserves a closer treatment, as it is one of the most compelling parts of the traditional analysis.

shortenability from easily shortenable world to words only shortenable in a particular context, dependent even on their literary context.³⁷

³⁷ Fortson 2008:221. See especially his analysis of *Truc.* 800.

PART TWO

The Iambic Octonarius (ia⁸)

Having taken all of this into account, it may be instructive to note that in most accounts of iambo-trochaic meter in Plautus, the discussion focuses on iambic senarius, and iambic and trochaic septenarius. Iambic and trochaic octonarius are seldom treated in as much detail, since they are generally assumed to be little more than lengthened versions of the meters mentioned above, and thus just a longer and more infrequent variety of recitative meter. This can be seen, for example, in Adrian Gratwick's metrical appendix to iambo-trochaic in Terence, where he lays out iambic senarius and octonarius alongside each other like this:³⁸

ia ⁴ (dim.)	A B C D A B C D
ia ⁶	A B C D A / B C D A B C D
ia ⁷	A B C D A B C D A / B C D A B ^ D
ia ⁸	A B C D A B C D A / B C D A B C D

The major trochaic meters are of a kind with these, as we see:

tr ⁴ (dim.)	B C D A B C D A
tr ⁴ (dim.) catalectic	B C D A B C D ^
tr ⁷	B C D A B C D A / B C D A B C D ^

This arrangement (supported for the most part by the text) shows the word break that usually occurs after the second-from-last A position. It does not always occur here, but these other cases are treated as the anomaly rather than the norm, and rightly so (for the verse of Terence, at least). But no scholars have seriously investigated the differences between these types of lines. Are these instances of D / A due to simple variation, the reflection of a less-preferred D / A to the preferred A / B break? In this

³⁸ Gratwick 1999: 212. Brenot 1923:3 does likewise, minus the alphabetical schema.

section, I will examine the behavior of ia^8 and tr^8 (the focus being on the former, as it is the locus of this line-break alternation) to try to answer the following questions: What factors are behind the D / A line break in ia^8 ? Is this break meaningful? And finally, do our conclusions here tell us anything about BB or other kinds of shortening, or vice versa?

Sandro Boldrini, in probably the best direct (albeit brief) treatment of this issue, highlights a major dilemma in our interpretation: iambic octonarius with mid-line diaeresis could really be dimeters that were written on a single line for the reason of saving space; but the abrupt shift from octonarius to quaternarius would be awkward, and such a dramatic shift is not paralleled in Plautus' practice elsewhere.³⁹ Recognizing this, he concludes that, since ia^8 with and without mid-line diaeresis are mixed (he does not go into details on how or where they are mixed), they aren't counted as quaternarii.

Although, as Boldrini correctly notes, the argument for ia^8 .II as representing paired quaternarii is not compelling, his (and others') reasoning about this issue is nonetheless circular. Boldrini himself invokes the space-saving quaternarius hypothesis again in the discussion of tr^8 , even though he has already concluded that it is an unlikely solution for ia^8 .II.⁴⁰ Why does he do this? Such a solution is tenable only if other factors suggest it, viz. the meters of the lines before and after (this seems to be what he means

³⁹ Boldrini 1992:127. "non di rado si ha il dubbio se si tratti di un ottonario o, piuttosto, di due quaternari che la tradizione manoscritta ha unito, per economia di spazio, su di un solo rigo; con più sicurezza identifichiamo come tali gli ia^8 con dieresi mediano quando ad essi sono frammisti ia^8 senza dieresi (e dunque non divisibile in due ia^4 ...)."

⁴⁰ Boldrini 1992:134. "Si presenta come la giustapposizione di due tr^4 , e più di una volta, forse, la tradizione manoscritta è responsabile di aver tramandato come ottonari, per lo più per economia di spazio, delle coppie di quaternari; *il moderno editore, spesso, incontra grosse difficoltà nello stabilire la sticometria*. Meno arduo si presenta il compito se una serie di tr^4 senza interruzioni di sinafia tra verso e verso e tra i due *cola* dei singoli versi è conclusa da un verso catalettico: in tali casi si ha la sicurezza di trovarsi davanti a quaternari strutturati per sistema..." (emphasis mine)

with his comment about establishing the stichometry). This is probably the case in the Plautine example he gives, drawn from the three lines of tr⁸ at *Bacch.* 640-42: preceding and following this segment are much shorter lines, including dochmiacs, glyconics, choriambes, and several lines of mixed or undefined meter. But self-sufficiency of cola in individual lines alone is not sufficient to prove actual quaternarii in tr⁸, since this is often found with ia⁸.II as well (which Boldrini has already accepted are not paired quaternarii) but as a way of punctuating or emphasizing elements within speeches that are mainly ia⁸.I.

Furthermore, ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II are not freely mixed, as one might assume from Boldrini's comments, nor are they a limited resource, as Lindsay characterized them, used for either variety or for soliloquy.⁴¹ They tend to occur in groups of one type or the other, even if just for short runs, and if such a group of one type is interrupted by lines of the other type, it is at a speech or sense break, where a discernible difference in tone is present.

Though Boldrini's conclusions about ia⁸.II not representing paired quaternarii (as is probably the case with some instances of tr⁸) is correct, it presents us with a false aporia: acknowledging that the mid-line diaeresis octonarius is not a pair of quaternarii, it must be just an instance of variation among octonarius lines. Lindsay's suggestions - of ia⁸.II as a soliloquy meter to distinguish it from the ia⁸.I modeled on the *diverbium* senarius, or of the "sparing use" of ia⁸.II, "a line here, a couple of lines there, to break

⁴¹ Lindsay 1922:277. He points out that some scenes contain one or another, and gives an example of ia⁸.I (*Asin.* 830ff.), splitting it as though it were of type II: *Numquidnamst tibi molestumst, gna ll te mi, si haec nunc mecum accubat*. He says it "is adapted to conversation by disregard of the break in the middle of the line." But we know that its line break was not really disregarded, but occurs after *gnate* in a type that is quite normal.

the monotony or increase the variety of a Canticum" - do not hold much more explanatory power, and I think substantially more can be said.⁴²

I suggest distinguishing the two kinds of ia⁸, and not just for the purposes of saying that there are two optional word-break positions. The spread of iambo-trochaic meters in Plautus - senarius through octonarius - thus looks like this:

tr ⁸	B C D A B C D A / B C D A B C D A
ia ⁸ Type II (mid-line diaeresis)	A B C D A B C D / A B C D A B C D
ia ⁸ Type I (no mid-line diaeresis)	A B C D A B C D A / B C D A B C D
tr ⁷	B C D A B C D A / B C D A B C D ^
ia ⁶	A B C D A / B C D A B C D

As I have stated, the *status quo* is of one meter with two different word-break patterns: no mid-line diaeresis (caesura only after the second-to-last A), and mid-line diaeresis (diaeresis *before* the second-to-last A). The first type (my ia⁸.I) is typologically on par with the rest of the *diverbia*/recitative system, in that all have caesura after the A₂ position.⁴³ This forms the standard picture of ia⁸.II in most texts, including Lindsay, Brenot, and eventually Gratwick. The second type (my ia⁸.II) is typologically distinct from all other meters in the *diverbia*/recitative system in placing a word-break *before* the A₂ position. The closest counterpart is tr⁸, which also has a mid-line diaeresis, but before B₂. This is to say that, although ia⁸ and tr⁸ are similar insofar as they can be divided into two equal colas of the same metrical form as iambic or trochaic quaternarii (respectively), their mid-line diaereses occur at very different positions once one takes into account the restrictions (such as the laws of Bentley-Luchs and Meyer) placed on different [alphabetical] positions.

⁴² Lindsay 1922:277 *ibid*.

⁴³ For tr⁷ this is the second A position, which works out to the same thing, despite it's being A₃ if one lays it out on the model of tr⁸. Cf. Gratwick 1999:212. The equivalence of these lines after the caesura is a major benefit of his "alphabetic" representation of the meter.

Surprisal and Metrical Restrictiveness in Plautine Iambo-Trochaic

This section aims to prove, inasmuch as possible, the legitimacy of the distinction between $ia^8.I$ and $ia^8.II$. I will use surprisal, a mathematical measure of metrical restrictiveness, to show that $ia^8.I$ and $ia^8.II$ are in fact different meters, at least as different as the other meters within the archaic Latin iambo-trochaic system, and as far as concerns metrical variety (as measured by restrictiveness). I will also show that these surprisal numbers will yield a ranking of meters that shows us, in quantified terms, where a given meter within iambo-trochaics lies on a scale of restrictiveness. This information can then be used - with some caution - when interpreting what transitions between meters may have indicated something more subjectively to the playwright's audience.

In figure 2.1 below are the main meters of Plautine iambo-trochaics together with their surprisal values. I have arranged them from highest to lowest, a high surprisal indicating a lower degree of metrical restrictiveness (i.e. a greater degree of metrical flexibility). For sake of comparison, the surprisal for dactylic hexameter is 0.50, and for iambic trimeter it is 0.83.⁴⁴ Compared with these, the iambo-trochaic meters clearly form a group, ranging as they do from 0.995 to 1.14. Within this range, the variations are small, but significant and regular.

⁴⁴ I thank Angelo Mercado for introducing me to this kind of analysis. It is his data that I reproduce here for meters other than ia^8 and tr^8 . I have repeated his calculations from scratch, and have followed his methodology in extending the surprisal analysis to the meters in question here.

tr ⁸	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (312,500 \text{ possibilities})}{16 \text{ positions}}$	1.14
ia ⁸ .I	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (156,250)}{16 \text{ positions}}$	1.07
ia ⁶	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (6,250 \text{ possibilities})}{12 \text{ positions}}$	1.05
ia ⁷	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (37,500 \text{ possibilities})}{15 \text{ positions}}$	1.01
tr ⁷	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (37,500 \text{ possibilities})}{15 \text{ positions}}$	1.01
ia ⁸ .II	⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘	$\frac{\log_2 (62,500)}{16 \text{ positions}}$	0.995

Figure 2.1

The most important fact to which I want to draw attention is that ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II are on opposite ends of the iambo-trochaic range of restrictiveness, tr⁸ being the only meter outside their range. We can therefore say with certainty that, within the iambo-trochaic system, ia⁸.I is nearly as far away from ia⁸.II in terms of restrictiveness as the system allows. At the very least, this should prove that they were as different from one another (at least insofar as restrictiveness is a defining trait of a meter, and is something that could have an effect on the listener) as the other meters within iambo-trochaic. It is also possible that this restrictiveness signaled something like the relative elevation of a genre, at least when one compares the 0.50 surprisal of dactylic hexameter and the 0.83 surprisal of iambic trimeter.⁴⁵ If this can be sustained, then not only do ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II differ quantitatively, but they differ qualitatively as well, and we are supported if we notice important "subjective" changes between one and the other. This is likely what

⁴⁵ This is suggested but not fully taken up in the presentation of Mercado at Cornell, 30 March 2010.

Lindsay was sensing when he wrote of the "jingling song" over and against the meter of conversation.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Lindsay 1922:277.

Differences Realized - Iambic Octonarius in Plautus' *Amphitruo*

Plautus' *Amphitruo* is an excellent test case for both of the subjects I broach in this paper: (a) the reality and poetic/dramatic effect of the two subclasses of ia⁸; (b) iambic shortening in these meters. As regards the first subject, *Amphitruo* is widely known to be an uncommon sort of doubles comedy, distinct in setup and resolution from other classic Plautine doubles like *Menaechmi* or *Bacchides*. As De Melo notes in the introduction to his edition of Plautus, whereas the confusion that makes up the comedy is resolved when the brothers Menaechmi meet, in *Amphitruo*, it is at the meeting of the doubles that the confusion begins; likewise, in *Menaechmi*, the realization of there being doubles confers identity to the brothers, while in *Amphitruo*, the doubles Jupiter and Mercury steal and confuse the identities of Amphitruo and Sosia.⁴⁷ Consequently, *Amphitruo*'s ending cannot be brought about by way of recognition, and the stage is set for Jupiter's ludicrous coming-clean. Furthermore, much of the ia⁸ in the play occurs in intensely contrasted doubles scenes. Whether Plautus had in mind what we might call the "double nature" of ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II is hard to say for sure, but as will be shown, the suspicion that he did makes for some interesting dramatic potential, and may even be supported by a reanalysis of some of his prosodic tendencies.⁴⁸

As this is a new observation along the lines of relatively recent critical work (after Gratwick and Lightley 1982), I think it deserves extensive comment along these same lines. I should note also that *Amphitruo* contains the most ia⁸ in Plautus' corpus, and in the largest cohesive sections, making it especially suited to an analysis of the meter's

⁴⁷ de Melo 2011, v.1:4 ff.

⁴⁸ By this last remark, I refer to the way he bends what are otherwise strong and regular prosodic tendencies against hiatus, in order to accommodate line breaks that indicate either ia⁸.I or ia⁸.II in otherwise ambiguous cases.

dramatic and prosodic characteristics. Further analysis of other plays will provide more information on transitions to and from ia⁸ more generally.

As regards the second subject (that of iambic shortening), things will be more difficult. BB is not especially common in ia⁸ (although BB/synizesis, weighted in favor of the latter, is quite common). Still, *Amphitruo* will provide the best possible test case for BB in ia⁸, and these instances will be discussed in greater detail in what follows.

We begin at line 153, when Amphitruo's slave Sosia enters, proclaiming his boldness to an audience of himself alone. His meter is ia⁸.II, the "soliloquy" iteration of ia⁸ that I mentioned earlier (or in any case that subset of ia⁸ that likely inspired W.M. Lindsay to state that "we might call the Iambic Octonarius a 'soliloquy' metre of Plautus," thus inspiring the association of ia⁸ generally with soliloquy).⁴⁹

ia⁸.II SOS. Qui me alter est audacior | homo aut qui confidentior,
iuuentutis mores qui sciam, | qui hoc noctis solus ambulem?
quid faciam nunc si tresuiri | me in carcerem compegerint?
ind' cras quasi e promptaria | cella depromar ad flagrum,
nec caussam liceat dicere mihi, | neque in ero quicquam auxili
siet, nec quisquam sit quin me | omnes esse dignum deputent.

The meter stops at 158, transitioning into tr⁸, with its completely different cadence and lack of the sure-footed balance between cola that is characteristic of ia⁸.II. Line 159 is also where Sosia's fear of consequences begins to get the best of him, as he starts to imagine and inflate the punishment he fears is in store. These lines - from 159 to 180,

⁴⁹ Lindsay 1922:277. He writes, referring to *Amph.* 153 sqq., "in the opening Scene of the *Amphitruo* they are a good vehicle for the maundering soliloquy of the bibulous serving-man, with their suggestion of interminable, rambling remarks." Going on, he says that when whole passages of *ia*⁸.II are heard in Plautus, "they are usually soliloquies." This description follows his initial assertion that, when used sparingly, they "break the monotony or increase the variety of a *Canticum*." *Iambic Octonarius*, then, ranges wide in its poetic power: it can signal long soliloquies, or pop up verse-at-a-time to bring novelty and interchange. How can it have such (to my mind, at least) polarized effects? How indeed, if it is only one sort of meter with a single range of poetic potential. But, as our surprisal results and Plautus' actual use of *ia*⁸.I and *ia*⁸.II indicate, more is at work here than is initially apparent.

where the meter returns to ia⁸.II - show vacillation, Sosia's running, shifting mind. It is in this state that he finishes his speech at 175. After Mercury's response, Sosia begins again at 180, back in soliloquy mode, which he continues through 218 in one of the longest passages of ia⁸ in Plautus; this is true even when we count for Mercury's interruption at 185-86, which is also in ia⁸.II and was likely "attracted" into this meter by its proximity to and thematic continuity with Sosia's discourse. This "attraction" may also be the reason for the agreement of meters throughout this discourse, even when the meter isn't ia⁸ (e.g, at 175-79, in bacchiacs but starting with Sosia and concluding with Mercury).

At 180, Sosia, having calmed down a bit from his delusions of punishment and diatribe against his master, begins to sink into a more self-deprecating mood (humorously remarked on by Mercury at 185 - Sosia does what others seldom do, in that he knows his place! Mercury, on the other hand, is a god in the guise of a slave.)

ia ⁸ .II	SOS. Sum uero uerna uerbero : numero mihi in mentem fuit, dis aduenientem gratias pro meritis agere atque adloqui? ne illi edepol si merito meo referre studeant gratiam, aliquem hominem adlegent qui mihi aduenienti os occillet probe, quoniam bene quae in me fecerunt ingrata ea habui atque inrita.	180
ia ⁸ .II	MERC. Facit ille quod uolgo hau solent, ut quid se sit dignum sciat.	185

Sosia continues on, increasingly in the role of narrator filling us in on the army's victory that preceded his and Amphitruo's return home. His lines can be read as an announcement or speech in praise of king and country though, as before, he is speaking only to himself. As such, he continues in ia⁸.II until line 194, at which point he suddenly switches to ia⁸.I. Meaningful? In a context of continuous speech solely in ia⁸.II, I think it must be, and the interpretive question devolves to us.

ia ⁸ .II	SOS. Quod numquam opinatus fui neque alius quisquam ciuium sibi euenturum, id contigit, ut salui poteremur domi. uictores uictis hostibus legiones reueniunt domum, duello extincto maxumo atque internecatis hostibus. quod multa Thebano poplo acerba obiecit funera, id ui et uirtute militum uictum atque expugnatum oppidum est imperio atque auspicio mei eri Amphitruonis maxume. praedaque agroque adoriaque adfecit popularis suos	190
ia ⁸ .I	regique Thebano Creoni regnum stabiliiuit suom.	
ia ⁸ .II	me a portu praemisit domum ut haec nuntiem uxori suae, ut gesserit rem publicam ductu, imperio, auspicio suo.	195

I think the answer can be found in considering the contents of Sosia's speech thus far, which are mostly in praise of his master and his countrymen of Thebes. For there has been an undercurrent of resentment of authority that preceded this paian: recall especially 166-175, in tr⁸, and how this was only calmed through self-effacement as a slave. I think it is part of the poet's art, then, that at the mention of a still-higher master - viz. Creon, Amphitruo's uncle and king of Thebes - Sosia switches meter ever-so-deftly to ia⁸.I, which lacks the mid-line pause and emphasis of the lines in ia⁸.II that surround it.⁵⁰ It is as if he speeds up the tempo of his speech just here, hurrying past the mid-line break and on toward the cadence and thus the next line (which happens to shift the discussion back to Sosia, his own favorite topic). The line can almost be taken as a hurried afterthought: "He has enriched his countrymen with booty, land, and fame! *Oh, and he assured the stability of Creon's kingship, too. As for me...*". The effect is subtle. He doesn't really depart much from his role as *nuntiator*, yet the line is marked as different. Accompanied by a dramatic gesture or different sort of articulation (the sort of

⁵⁰ As examples of this kind of emphasis, the kind of *gravitas* that Sosia is assuming here, watch how he ends the lines. We know that the cadence must be of the form ...B c D/d+..., but the repetition, aural and thematic, is telling. It will suffice to list them all in order: *civium, domi, domum, hostibus, funera, oppidum est, maxume, suos, suom, suae, suo*. The sheer nationalism in these words, not to mention the repetition of *domus* and *suus*, is remarkable. I think this, along with a similar less pronounced but still noticeable tendency at the end of the first colon in the ia⁸.II lines, serves to show how critical cadence is in ia⁸.II especially.

thing always missing to us), the effect might have been more readily perceptible to the poet's audience. Line 195, technically ambiguous, is weighted in favor of ia⁸.II on both colon- (the clause after *ut* as a single colon) and line-level (the line continues on to 196, versus the hard stop at 194); however, this 195 could be a sort of hybrid, bridging ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II.

Sosia's next line in ia⁸.I, line 197, is also basically an aside, an interruption in his account of what has brought him to the present. It is the sort of line that doesn't take well to a marching, emphatic soliloquy. Rather, it is a continuous thought from the beginning to the end of the line, a simple mulling over what is about to follow. Plautus has Sosia speak this line alone in the continuous, more "diverbium-like" (as regards mid-line break) ia⁸.I. He says, "Now I'll consider how I'm going to tell her (Alcumena) these things when I arrive." In the following line, Sosia, already back in ia⁸.II, reassumes his composure as he establishes (i.) that he is lying (*si dixero mendacium*) and that this is his usual mode (*solens meo more fecero*). His *mos* here is reinforced by the meter, which is the same ia⁸.II used in telling the truthful (but generic) account that preceded.

ia ⁸ .I	ea nunc meditabor quo modo illi dicam, quom illo aduenero.	
ia ⁸ .II	si dixero mendacium, solens meo more fecero.	
	nam quom pugnabant maxume, ego tum fugiebam maxume;	
	uerum quasi adfuerim tamen simulabo atque audita eloquar.	200
	sed quo modo et uerbis quibus me deceat fabularier,	
	prius ipse mecum etiam uolo hic meditari. sic hoc proloquar.	

It is worth reading closely how he prefaces the story he'll fabricate to fill in the battle he missed. Not only does he fabricate his account, but he fabricates the demeanor of one who was there, along with that demeanor's associated speech (in ia⁸.II) and its style. Indeed, he tells us as much at 201-2, saying, "First, I wish to practice in what manner and with what words it would be most fitting for me to spin this tale,"

In Sosia's subsequent lines, from 203 to 218, the balanced colon-structure of his *ia*⁸.II is reinforced with hiatus between cola at 208 (... *agro* | *Argivos* ...) and 211 (... *ordine* | *iterarunt* ...), and first-colon *brevis in longo* (at 203, 207, 211, 215 - *loci Jacobsohniani*). It is *ia*⁸.II *par excellence*, the poet taking extra - but not disproportionate - effort to render the lines into metrically balanced halves.

Sosia's speech continues until 247, but not in *ia*⁸, instead transitioning to a *mélange* of cretics mixed with several other meters both known and unknown. It is hard

to draw conclusions about the dramatic effects or reflections of this, but it may be worth noting that the transitional lines 219 to 229 sound like stock descriptions of battle preparations, and their generic character is reinforced by Sosia's vocabulary: some form of *uter* 'both' occurs six times in this short space, usually in the form of the adverb *utrimque* 'on both sides' (seven times if we agree that Spengel's *utrimque* is the correct reading at 230). Discourse of "us versus them" and other repetitions are intermixed: *nos nostras more nostro et modo* (221), *dispertiti viri, dispertiti ordines* (220), *pro se quisque id quod quisque* (231).

Lines 248 and following present us with a return to *ia*⁸.II - or so it seems. For we have arrived at the play's first case of truly ambiguous *ia*⁸ in Mercury's two lines: emerging out of a quasi-cretic confusion, there is no metrical context to act as a guide to what the lines might be. Sosia's speech in the lines following is metrically convoluted, and so of little apparent help (not to say that it would be anyway; the cases discussed so far of one character's meter being "attracted" into the meter of the dominant character in the scene have not begun with this kind of two-line interjection, but have had it occur after context has been well established). Can we solve this by appeal to syntax, and therefore line-internally?

*ia*⁸.II MERC. Numquam etiam quicquam adhuc uerborum est prolocutus perperam: 248
namque ego fui illi in re praesenti et meu' quom pugnatum est pater.

Here are the possibilities:

248	... verborum est prolocutus perperam [#]	(<i>ia</i> ⁸ .I)
	... verborum est prolocutus perperam [#]	(<i>ia</i> ⁸ .II)
249	... re praesenti et meu' quom pugnatum est pater [#]	(<i>ia</i> ⁸ .I)
	... re praesenti et meu' quom pugnatum est pater [#]	(<i>ia</i> ⁸ .II)

In both cases, I think syntax favors ia⁸.II. In 248, *est prolocutus* is obviously a unit. But additionally, there is a real drawback to construing, as the sentence runs from left to right, *est* with the phrase *numquam etiam quicquam adhuc verborum est*, for it would mean "never up 'til now is there any word," only to be re-construed the moment *prolocutus* leaves the actor's mouth. In 249, *et* is an odd way to end a phrase that will be syntactically conjoined to the following phrase; it makes a much better sentence/colon-initial connective. It is also humorous: Mercury states that he was present at the battle...oh yes, and Dad, too!

In each line, of course, the first colon does not conclude with a classic iambic cadence. This is, following Meyers' Law, due to the colon not ending with an unaccented word-end. One result is that the first half of the line is well populated with heavy metrical positions (X or xx), a kind of booming, ponderous speech well suited to a god pronouncing on the veracity of Sosia's claims. The fact that it was not, to us, initially a clear-cut case of ia⁸.II should not put us off too much, since Plautus' audience would likely have picked this up as soon as position A₃ rolled around.

At 250, however, Sosia gives us a classic ia⁸.II: mid-line diaeresis, with colon-final ...B c D... cadence in both cola, and even hiatus between the two cola, not to mention a full syntax break. A transition to ia⁸.I at 251 compresses the account, which expands in a metrically punctuated ia⁸.II in 252, whose first colon holds all the keys to the sentence that is fleshed out as the second half of the line unfolds: *Amphitruo himself* (nom.) the king (acc.) ... *Pterela* slayed ...!

ia ⁸ .II	SOS. Perduelles penetrant se in fugam; ibi nostris animus additust:	250
ia ⁸ .I	uortentibus Telobois telis complebantur corpora,	
ia ⁸ .II	ipsusque Amphitruo regem Pterelam sua obtruncavit manu.	
tr ⁷	haec illist pugnata pugna usque a mani ad uesperum— (hoc adeo hoc commemini magi' quia illo die inpransus fui—)	

ia ⁸ .I	sed proelium id tandem diremit nox interuentu suo.	255
	postridie in castra ex urbe ad nos ueniunt flentes principes:	
(?)	uelatis manibus orant ignoscamus peccatum suom,	
ia ⁸ .I	deduntque se, diuina humanaque omnia, urbem et liberos	
	in dicionem atque in arbitratum cuncti Thebano poplo.	
	post ob uirtutem ero Amphitruoni patera donata aurea est,	260
ia ⁸ .II	qui Pterela potitare rex est solitus. haec sic dicam erae.	
	nunc pergam eri imperium exsequi et me domum capessere.	

After a two-line trochaic septenarius interlude at 253-54,⁵¹ Sosia speaks again in ia⁸.I.⁵² As he recounts the battle's finale (recall that he is fabricating), it is interesting that he stays on in ia⁸.I. Is this, distinct from the soliloquy of reportage, a soliloquy of lost control, of excitement, of increasingly fabricated poise devolving into the conversational? It is difficult to say. But the ia⁸.I continues until the very last line, with the possible exception of what appears to be a non-conforming line of ia⁸ (257). These last two lines - 261 and 262 - are the most interesting of this group. We can reason about how to deal with their formal ambiguity just as we did in 248 and 249. Likewise in these lines, the syntax (strangely parallel to those earlier lines) favors ia⁸.II: *est solitus* in 261 is a syntactic unit, and the hiatus at ... *exsequi* | *et me* ... in 262 shows that some effort is required to create this ia⁸.II structure. Again, in 262, just as in 249, *et* most effectively begins the second colon. It also provides for a humorous appendage to the first colon of 262: "Now I will proceed to carry out the master's will...and to go home!"

At lines 984 through 1005, Mercury begins a soliloquy that lays the groundwork for the act to come, and that finds him more fully exploring his assumed character. He moves between ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II, surely some of the lines where Lindsay and others (recall

⁵¹ 253-54 - these two lines are Sosia's humorous interjection: the first, a bland observations of generic combat ("from morning 'til evening"); the second, a funny justification for Sosia's "memory" - it must have lasted all day, for he didn't get his supper! If nothing else, these two lines further show how his generic battle descriptions are fabricated.

⁵² Line 256, technically ambiguous, is surely ia⁸.I, as Plautus would not split the phrase *ad* | *nos* between cola.

He begins in ia⁸.I at 984 with a rolling line of near-rhyming imperatives, all of which have the metrical form ... *A B c D/d+* ..., smoothly tying the line together and linking it with the preceding ia⁶ of 974-983. The following line, however, is perhaps the most ambiguous ia⁸ yet in *Amphitruo*, made difficult because syntax and hiatus offer little help, and lines 986 ff. are a clear-cut section of ia⁸.II.

In the end, however, I come down on the side of *ia*⁸.I for 985. On my analysis, one comparatively minor factor - relative pronoun *qui* in the same line segment as its verb - argues for *ia*⁸.II, while a much more prosodically significant factor - hiatus between cola, which is an important tool of Plautine prosody in distinguishing *ia*⁸.I and *ia*⁸.II - argues in favor of *ia*⁸.I.⁵⁴ While Plautus often uses hiatus to create or enforce *ia*⁸.II, it is less common in support of *ia*⁸.I; still, Plautus can and does use hiatus to strengthen colon boundaries in both cases.

⁵⁴ There is also the admittedly minor addition of colon-final near-rhyme between *qui* and *mihi*. Not anything like an argument in support of one line-division or the other, it is nonetheless interesting to note, since Plautus does this elsewhere to interesting effect.

If this is correct, lines 984-5 form a tidy ia⁸.I unit, while 986, beginning with an explanatory *nam*, is the first in a run of ia⁸.II lasting seven lines. Hiatus again at 991 creates a strong sense break - *pater vocat me, / eum sequor*. This stands out in a line that has three other cases of elision or synizesis. Another interesting point is the responsion between 989 and 991 at the beginning of each colon in each line, reinforcing the balanced line division characteristic of ia⁸.II. I have added breves in both lines to show this more clearly.

ia ⁸ .II	nam mihi quidem hercle qui minus liceat deo minitarier populo, ni decedat mihi, quam seruolo in comoediis? ill' nauem saluam nuntiat aut irati aduentum senis: ěgŏ sum loui dicto audiens, ěiŭs iussu nunc huc me adfero. quam ob rem mihi magi' par est uia decedere et concedere. pătĕr uocat me, eum sequor, ěiŭs dicto, imperio sum audiens; ut filium bonum patri esse oportet, itidem ego sum patri.	986 990
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Not only is there syntactic and positional responsion, but the *sense* of each colon in 991 echoes the sense of the respective colon in 989. This is evidence for reading both lines as ia⁸.II, as well as an example of the different patterns (and sense) ia⁸.II could be used to convey. This is especially striking in light of Mercury's two "fathers" in the play, Jupiter and Amphytruo.

Lines 993-4 constitute a discreet interruption, and provide interesting examples of the fluidity of ia⁸.I. Both have in common a kind of rapidity, marked in 993 by the list of verbs (*subparasitor, hortor, adsto, admoneo, gaudeo*) and in 994 by *uolupest, uoluptas ea...maxumast*, that seems germane to the "conversational" ia⁸.I. The verbs in line 993 run unimpeded straight to the cadence, the line emphatic in its speed and length. In 994, the colon break is bridged by *uoluptas ea*, different enough from *uoluptas mea* (a phrase which, as mentioned earlier, was sufficiently lexicalized to have undergone BB in a variety of environments) to straddle the break and provide continuity from one part of

ia⁸.I amanti subparasitor, hortor, | adsto, admoneo, gaudeo. 993
si quid patri uolupest, uoluptas | ea mi multo maxumast.

ia⁸.II amat: sapit; : recte facit, | animo quando : obsequitur suo, 995

ia⁸.I quod omnis homines facere oportet, | dum id modo : fiat bono. 996
nunc Amphitruonem uolt deludi | meu' pater: faxo probe
iam hic deludetur, spectatores, | uobis inspectantibus.

40

ostensibly in conversation). 995 in *ia*⁸.II is really the outlier in the middle of this speech to the audience, an especially rigid kind of declaration in the midst of more fluid *ia*⁸.I lines.

For the rest of Mercury's speech (save the final lines 1006-8 in *ia*⁶, a transition back into *diverbium*), he uses *ia*⁸.II, speaking no longer directly to the audience as in 993-8, but indirectly as he exhorts himself in soliloquy and prepares for the coming act. The lines here are classic *ia*⁸.II, especially 999-1001 and 1004-5, which employ hard sense or syntax breaks at colon-break. At 1004 there is again responsion with 989 and 991, both in shortening and in content; as before, I have added breves.

<i>ia</i> ⁸ .II	capiam coronam mi in caput, adsimulabo me esse ebrium; atque illuc susum escendero: inde optume aspellam uirum de supero, quom huc accesserit; faciam ut sit madidus sobrius. deinde illi actutum sufferet suo' seruos poenas Sosia: eum fecisse ille hodie arguet quae ego fecero hic. quid <id> mea? měō me aequomst morigerum patri, ěiūs studio seruire addecet. sed eccum Amphitruonem, aduenit; iam ille hic deludetur probe,	1000 1005
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Plautus shows in these lines the subtle and not-so-subtle differences between *ia*⁸.I and *ia*⁸.II, and he deploys them in this one speech in ways that are clearly not arbitrary or simply for variety. Also in these lines is a very high number of shortenings, most of them attributable to synizesis; these and other shortenings in *ia*⁸ will be discussed in the following section. But in the deliberate use of *ia*⁸.II lines to echo each other, it is also apparent that *ia*⁸.II possesses a greater potential for conditioning shortening than does *ia*⁸.I, insofar as its two cola give it two places where shortening (iambic and otherwise) can readily be localized.

ia⁸.II Spes atque opes uitae meae | iacent sepultae in pectore,
neque ullast confidentia iam | in corde, quin amiserim;

ia⁸.I ita mi uidentur omnia, mare, | terra, caelum, consequi 1055

ia⁸.Il iam ut opprimar, ut enicer. | me miseram, quid agam nescio.
ita tanta mira in aedibus | sunt facta. uae miserae mihi,
animo malest, aquam uelim. | corrupta sum atque apsumpta sum.

⁵⁵ Gratwick 1999:219. Hiatus is fairly common at line-end in Terence, synaloepha within the line even across punctuation and change of speaker. But, as at Gratwick 1993:253, Plautus "frequently allows himself metrical hiatus between *co/a*, that is at any juncture ...A/B...or...D/A..."

caput dolet, neque audio, | nec oculis prospicio satis,
nec me miserior femina est | neque ulla uideatur magis. 1060
ita erae meae hodie contigit. | nam ubi parturit, deos [sibi] inuocat,

At 1056, the second colon begins with *sunt facta*, setting the tone for the lamentation *vae*: "...have been done. O...!" Lines 1057-61 have a hard pause between cola, once with *nec*, once with *neque*, and once with *nam*. Pauses here at line break seem clearly perceptible and meaningful.

The anapestic tetrameter acatalectic at 1062 and trochaic septenarius at 1064-5 are exclamatory outliers in Bromia's speech: 1062 is an energetic onomatopoetic feast, where the reader can feel the confusion and excitement; 1064-5 are the god's initial declaration before he concludes with a classic *ia*⁸.I at 1066, the phrase *terrore meo* straddling the mid-line break and lending a continuity to the whole line. The following two lines are not clear-cut cases of anything belonging to the system. If some liberties are taken, 1068 almost resembles *ia*⁸.II, but it just won't work as we have it, and a real analysis of these lines belongs elsewhere.

strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus: ut subito, ut prope, ut ualide tonuit!
*ia*⁸.I ubi quisque institerat, concidit crepitu. | ibi nescioquis maxuma
uoce exclamat: 'Alcumena, adest auxilium, ne time:
et tibi et tuis propitius caeli cultor aduenit. 1065
*ia*⁸.II exsurgite' inquit 'qui terrore | meo occidistis prae metu.'
ut iacui, exsurgo. ardere censui aedis, ita tum confulgebant.
ibi me inclamat Alcumena; iam ea res me horrore adficit,

Bromia returns to *ia*⁸.II at 1069, at the same moment as she recounts returning from a sense of confusion to a sense of order brought about by her fear of her mistress. In other words, she moves from confusion and fear in a line whose meter is confused, and returns to order in a line with strict colon-division, a type we have already seen to

represent a kind of exactitude and authority. She continues this way until knocked off her feet with questions, again in tr⁷ and then in iambic dimeter acatalectic.

ia⁸.II erilis praeuortit metus: | accurro, ut sciscam quid uelit.
 atque illam geminos filios | pueros peperisse conspico; 1070
 neque nostrum quisquam sensimus, | quom peperit, neque prouidimus.
sed quid hoc? quis hic est senex, qui ante aedis nostras sic iacet?
numnam hunc percussit Iuppiter?

The remainder of her speech starts in ia⁸.II and moves to ia⁸.I a few lines after Amphitruo begins to converse with her, and so continuing this conversational meter until they are firmly back in classic iambo-trochaic for the play's final sixty lines. Lines 1074-5 are the final two members of the legitimate soliloquy that has been the substrate of Bromia's speech. By 1077, it is becoming difficult to keep the firm colon-separation in the conversation between Bromia and Amphitruo, ia⁸.II is no longer the meter best-suited to the dialogue, and ia⁸.I becomes the meter of their conversation.

ia⁸.II credo edepol, nam, pro Iuppiter, | sepultus quasi sit mortuos.
 ibo et cognoscam, quisquis est. | Amphitruo hic quidem <est> eru' meus. 1075
 Amphitruo. A. Perii. B. Surge. A. Interii. | B. Cedo manum. A. Quis me tenet?
 BR. Tua Bromia ancilla. AM. Totus timeo, | ita me increpuit Iuppiter.
 ia⁸.I nec secus est quasi si ab Accherunte | ueniam. sed quid tu foras
 egressa es? BROM. Eadem nos formido | timidas terrore impulit
 in aedibus tu ubi habitas. nimia | mira uidi. uae mihi, 1080
 Amphitruo; ita mihi animus etiam | nunc abest. AMPH. Agedum expedi:
 scin me tuum esse erum Amphitruonem? | B. Scio. A. Uide etiam nunc. B. Scio.

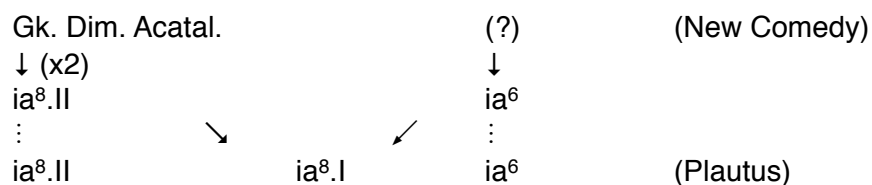
AMPH. Haec sola sanam mentem gestat | meorum familiarium.

BROM. Immo omnes sani sunt profecto. | A. At me uxor insanum facit
 suis foedis factis. BROM. At ego faciam | tu idem ut aliter praedices, 1085

It strikes me that ia⁸, with its two distinct types as we have it in Plautus, has no other parallels within Latin meter. It is difficult to speak of two separate types of a single meter, with significantly different levels of restrictiveness, different poetic and dramatic applications, and a difference often strengthened by the poet's use of hiatus - yet still a

single meter. Recognizing the speculative nature of a history of a meter that has only recently been well understood, I wish to suggest that what we are witnessing may be the synchronic synthesis of two different meters with distinct histories and developments. The similarities between ia⁸.II and Greek dimeter has been noted already,⁵⁶ and it has been conjectured that apparently unified lines of ia⁸.II actually consist of two dimeter lines written together to conserve space; however, the artful interweaving of ia⁸.I and ia⁸.II that does in fact exist, as I have demonstrated, shows that this is impossible.

Still, I think there may be some truth in this connection, viz. that ia⁸.II arose as a doublet of Greek dimeters from New Comedy. Later, however, perhaps this ia⁸.II, by virtue of its similarity in a Latin dramatic context to ia⁶, was assimilated to ia⁶ as a kind of extended *diverbiū*, and was allowed to take on this spoken character of ia⁶, including the shorter line's preference for uneven colon division. Still, however, ia⁸.II stayed on, its stolid archaic character acquiring a kind of set type as the meter of soliloquy, but poets and audience alike recognizing its closeness to ia⁸.I and using the two meters' similarities and differences in ways that were dramatically subtle and constructive in theatrical contexts. In short, the development would look like this:



In support of this may be the fact that Terence uses ia⁸.I in greater proportion to ia⁸.II than Plautus, such that ia⁸.I and ia⁶, making use of the same line-break (as seen

⁵⁶ Cf. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, p. 277 and elsewhere.

from right to left; penthemimeral or hepthemimeral from left to right), are further assimilated.

Shortening in ia⁸ in Plautus - Some Observations

Finally, in this section, I examine cases of shortening in ia⁸. This may seem like a strange mishmash of much of what has been previously covered in this paper, but I hope it is not.⁵⁷ I will examine how my conclusions regarding the reality - and especially the conditioning and motivation - of BB in the language of Plautus are actualized here. I do this not because I have expected to find something different, but because, as I mentioned in Part One of this paper, octonarii are generally ignored in analyses of iambic shortening. Furthermore, considering that (as I hope I have now demonstrated) ia⁸ effectively encompasses two different meters with different mid-line behavior, the next step is to investigate whether this has any effect on BB. The following are instances of shortening in ia⁸, grouped by type. Again, the text is Lindsay's.

VCV(s)

superbe nimī ferociter legatos nostros increpant,	<i>Amph.</i> 213
legiones educunt suas nimī pulchris armis praeditas.	<i>Amph.</i> 218
quam ob rem mihi magī par est uia decedere et concedere.	<i>Amph.</i> 990
Pietas, pater, oculis dolorem prohibet. quamquam ego īstanc amo,	<i>Asin.</i> 831
sinī classe sineque exercitu et tanto numero militum.	<i>Bacch.</i> 930
relictus, ellum non in busto Achilli, sed īn lecto accubat;	<i>Bacch.</i> 938
clades calamitasque, intemperies modo īn nostram aduenit domum.	<i>Capt.</i> 911
nimis hercle ego īllum male formidabam, ita frendebat dentibus.	<i>Capt.</i> 913
coquōm percontabatur possentne seriae feruescere.	<i>Capt.</i> 917
quid hōc est negoti? quid īllisce homines ad me currunt, opseco?	<i>Men.</i> 997

VRV [2 kinds, the second regularly monosyllabic]

īuuēntutis mores qui sciam, qui hoc noctis solus ambulem?	<i>Amph.</i> 154
ego sum loui dicto audiens, eiūs iussu nunc huc me adfero.	<i>Amph.</i> 989
pater uocat me, eum sequor, eiūs dicto, imperio sum audiens;	<i>Amph.</i> 991
meo me aequomst morigerum patri, eiūs studio seruire addecet.	<i>Amph.</i> 1004

VV (synizesis) [second type from above]

si dixero mendacium, solens meō more fecero.	<i>Amph.</i> 198
eōs legat, Telobois iubet sententiam ut dicant suam:	<i>Amph.</i> 205

⁵⁷ I do not include shortenings in tr⁸ here only because it would require the kind of analysis I've conducted in the previous two sections, especially given that the unity of tr⁸ has already been placed in doubt earlier in this paper. I do think that tr⁸ would benefit from this analysis, however, and it would make a helpful addition to this paper.

namque ego fui illi in re praesenti et meū ’ quom pugnatum est pater.	<i>Amph.</i> 249
nunc Amphitruonem uolt deludi meū ’ pater: faxo probe	<i>Amph.</i> 997
deinde illi actutum sufferet suō ’ seruos poenas Sosia:	<i>Amph.</i> 1002
eūm fecisse ille hodie arguet quae ego fecero hic. quid <id> mea?	<i>Amph.</i> 1003
meō me aequomst morigerum patri, eius studio seruire addecet.	<i>Amph.</i> 1004
merito tuō facere possum. [DEM.] Age ergo, hoc agitemus conuiuium	<i>Asin.</i> 834
quia īstaec est tecum. atque ego quidem hercle ut uerum tibi dicam, pater,	<i>Asin.</i> 843
cepi expugnaui amanti erili filio aurum ab suō patre.	<i>Bacch.</i> 931
erum meum indignissime nesciōqui sublimem ferunt.	<i>Men.</i> 1002

As is apparent at the outset, I have included shortenings that should probably be attributed to synizesis.⁵⁸ I did this for two reasons. First, I wanted to show (as I did in the previous section) how *ia*⁸.II yields increased opportunities for shortening that the poet can use to artistic effect. Second, since I began my analysis under the assumption that cases of shortening should not be excluded unless there is good reason to, I thought it consistent to at least display here shortenings that might not be of as much interest to the main debates in BB. Nonetheless, and especially since I already treated some cases of synizesis-prone shortening in the last section, I will discuss only the more standard instances of BB here.

⁵⁸ Gratwick 1999:228. Cases of apparent BB without an intervening C (i.e. VV) are "always better taken as cases of synizesis". See also Fortson 2008: 209 n.80. "such words are simply ambiguous and best left aside." This is contra Lindsey, who thought that some instances remained *υυ* in order to be emphatic. Lindsay's idea, though against an analysis of BB that requires lesser pragmatic salience ergo lower tonicity in the shortened word, might benefit from a reanalysis on different grounds, since (as in the example of responsion I give in *Amphitruo*) these shortened words can have a different kind of heightened salience than what we look for in the environment of BB. It is also possible to hypothesize a process that proceeds as follows: lesser pragmatic salience -> lower tonicity -> acoustic trough -> shortening when part of (or coextensive with/as) prosodic word *then* -> synizesis if sequence is VV. If there is no way to draw a firm line between BB in these cases and synizesis from the evidence alone (i.e. without a companion theory of BB), then maybe it makes sense to see it so; this way, we will have united the phenomena under the same explanatory rubric but will not have equated them.

If Fortson is right about pragmatic subordination, all instances of BB should consist of given/non-salient information.⁵⁹ I take as a group those lines whose shortened words are of the form VCV(s).⁶⁰

superbe nimī ' ferociter legatos nostros increpant,	<i>Amph.</i> 213
legiones educunt suas nimī ' pulchris armis praeditas.	<i>Amph.</i> 218
quam ob rem mihi magī ' par est uia decedere et concedere.	<i>Amph.</i> 990

These forms, as we would expect for BB, occupy resolved positions. In these cases, *nimīs* in 218 occupies the *aa* position, while *nimīs* in 213 and *magīs* in 990 both occupy the *dd* position. It is possible that their localization as ◡ ◡ in resolved positions whose next words were vowel-initial led the poet to place them also in resolved positions before a consonant. However, it is also the case that, as semantically voided adverbs, they cling closely to the words that follow them, sitting in an acoustic dip before the emphasis on *ferociter*, *pulchris*, and *par (est)*.

sine classe sineque exercitu et tanto numero militum.	<i>Bacch.</i> 930
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In this case, it is likely that the first *sine* is attracted into the same metrical form as the following *sine*, attaching itself to the upcoming ◡ ◡, establishing a pattern of *a a B c d d A* that is only broken by the cadence *B c D* that begins with the second syllable of *exercitu*. Of course, *sine* is closely dependent upon the following word, and is

⁵⁹ Fortson 2008:224. "If these preliminary conclusions are warranted, then the prosody of phrases consisting of (contextually backgrounded) noun plus (focused/contrastive) adjective was one of rising emphasis."

⁶⁰ Gratwick 1999:226. "Plautus and Terence normally set words like *satis nimis quibus sumus bonus malus* as resolutions *aa bb cc* or *dd* not only before initial vowels but also before initial consonants; this is best taken as a species of iambic shortening."

semantically weak. Furthermore, the weak scansion of *sine* both times heightens the contrast with the spondaic *tanto* in the second colon, their logical counterpart.

relictus, ellum non in busto Achilli, sed in lecto accubat;	<i>Bacch.</i> 938
clades calamitasque, intemperies modo in nostram aduenit domum.	<i>Capt.</i> 911

Both of these instances of BB have a similar relationship to the words that follow; furthermore, they sound similar, and mean nearly the same thing (both adversative). This supports the idea of a bleached adverb + *in* closely connected to the following word or words. The acoustic dip created in both cases, however, lends the following words contrastive force. In *Bacch.* 938, *lecto* is contrasted with *busto*. But in *Capt.* 911, the emphasis is on *nostram*; it isn't just anybody's house, it's *our* house.

coquom percontabatur possentne seriae feruescere.	<i>Capt.</i> 917
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The shortened *coquom* in *Capt.* 917 is harder to explain. But assuming that it is again the following word that is stressed by the shortened *coquom*, we can see that the verb *percontabatur*, the action of the parasite Ergasilus as he ransacks the cellar, is very different from the rest of his actions there. From 912 to 916, the parasite *essuriens...faceret impetum, fredebat dentibus, adueniens deturbauit...carnarium, arripuit gladium, praetruncauit...glandia, aulas calicesque confregit*. But suddenly, at 917, he stops to inquire of the chef. What is important here is not the chef himself, which is probably why the word is suppressed; unlike particles and adverbs, it conveys content. But we see here the distinction BB can create between "topic" and "content". The chef is fully a part of the content, but he is not the topic. The topic is the verb *percontabatur* and the abrupt change it marks from the parasite's ransacking. We can see why this contrast could be humorous: the man runs through the cellar like a wolf,

destroying everything, and then suddenly stops to ask the chef to put on the roasting pans. Then, at 918, he returns to what he was doing before: *cellas refregit omnis intus recclisitque armarium*. The BB of *coquom* in 917 contrast the following verb with what came before, and prepares the audience for a contrast with what comes next.

quid hōc est negoti? **quid illisce** homines ad me currunt, opsecro? *Men.* 997

The phrase *quid hoc est* is a common phrase in Plautus, and probably constituted a single prosodic word. It appears fourteen times, and could be scanned in various ways, as line 1296 from *Poenulus* shows: *sed quid hoc est? quid est? quid hoc est? quid ego uideo? quo modo?* (both instances of *quid hoc est* in this line must scan differently). It occurs five times with a genitive, four of which are *negoti*. The resultant word was probably scanned something like *quīd hōc ést nĕgótī*, which matches the scansion of the phrase as a bare interrogative without the genitive. With *quid illisce*, we know that the word-initial syllable *ill-* was prone to shortening. Here, it could have been "attracted" into a line-initial pyrrhic on the basis of *quid hōc est*.

nimisue hercle **ego illum** male formidabam, ita frendebat dentibus. *Capt.* 913
Pietas, pater, oculis dolorem prohibet. quamquam **ego istanc** amo, *Asin.* 831

In these two instances, where *ego* provides the initial short element, we would expect a similar story. Unfortunately, the line preceding *Capt.* 913 is corrupt, and it is hard to gather from the rest of the context there why *illum* (the parasite) would be emphasized. But recall that he is called a wolf at the full line 912 (*quasi lupus essuriens* and so on), so perhaps the corrupt line contrasts wolf and man, and the *illum* in 913 refers to one or the other (probably the man, so the point would be that the parasite was so greedy that he feared *him* like a wolf, or perhaps even more). But we can only

speculate. In *Asin.* 831, however, the case is different. Argyrippus begins with a familiar sentiment of paternal piety: "Piety, father, keeps grief from my eyes." But he immediately follows this by saying: "Although I love *her*, I can persuade my soul not to suffer because she lies with you." The contrast between *istanc* as the object of *amo* and the preceding mention of the duty owed a father, a contrast created by the suppressed (and therefore ironically highlighted) *ego* draws the audience's attention to the contrast being actually described by Argyrippus. The sense is something like, "piety on the one hand, father, but *her* I love, *me*!"

Conclusions

In Part Two of this paper, I have shown that $ia^8.I$ and $ia^8.II$ are distinct meters within the iambo-trochaic system. I have used a quantitative measure of restrictiveness to do this, and have analyzed the differences between the two types qualitatively throughout Plautus' *Amphitruo*, the best extant play for reading ia^8 . I have also indicated possible places where $ia^8.II$ can - and does - have additional shortenings. Whether those shortenings are considered under the umbrella of BB is another issue, and is left to a theory of BB versus synizesis in such cases. I certainly hope something better can be said than that the ambiguity leaves us no option but to assume synizesis, if only because I think lines such as *Amphitruo* 989, 991, and 1004 deserve a better and more generous account.

I have also given all the examples of BB in $ia^8.I$ and $ia^8.II$. All of these examples can be supported on a prosodic/syntactic theory of BB, and when analyzed according to this theory, most of them develop greater explanatory power for other (and often more subtle) issues in the lines and their contexts. I hope that this goes some way towards extending the analysis of BB to meters where it is not generally discussed, and ultimately toward providing a more complete view of the intricacies of Plautus' art.

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